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"Derpetual Digilance is the Drice of Liberty," for "Power is always Stealing from the Mann to the fem."

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## SPEECH OF Edward Stanly, of North-Carolina, Delivered in the House of Representatives, MARCH 6, 1850.

This hour rule, Mr. Chairman, compels us to enconomize time very closely, and consolidate id as as much as possible. I will try and do so, that I may not were cut any thing more than I shall say,

I wish to say a few plain things in a plain vise them to take themselves, of this rainy day, to a more comfortable place than this. I in

come right at it.

the just cersure due to the conduct of the ag- they can be called so. hate here and in the Senate. I have looked of one of Canning's verses ; at the party newspapers of the day, and I have "Give me the aroxed, erect and manly foe; been brought to the settled belief, yes convic. Open, I can meet, perhaps may turn his blow; tire, that much of the bie and cry is caused by a malignant wish to embarence the Admin sstratum, and to build up the party whom the people harled from power in Novemb r, 1848. Many of the speeches here, relative to the ad. allusion to the President, and sometimes in proper and furrous, though feeble, asperarons

It seemed to me that if gentlemen, from the South especialty, believed our peruliar in- aty 14, 1850, I find the following : stitutions were in danger, they would desire tel action. But inseed of manifes ng such Let the patriots of all parties," de., de. a disposition, the Administration is su blessly "No time for erimination?" Then Why assailed, and the Whig party fiercely denounded in it? "Patriots of all parties?" But did before the flouse was organiz d, to blow parts !" his bearswain's whistle and pipe all hands on

dent, an abolt i a petition, presented by a gen the Whigh have the majority? tleman from Vermont, I think, produced a ten's resolution, which rejected abolition pe Fiorida, (Mr. Cabell.) titiens, was the fruit of that meeting. Pethe question of playery. No ma ter what stitutions and interests of the South." New Hampshire, who was called the prince have no time to read. of humbugs, introduced his wooden nutmeg, Sir, is this no proof of the design to agrinte

was denourced as an Abultionist. Mr. Clay ished; and charge as high treason all opposiwas an abilitionist; and Mr. Van Buren's tion to it. They are especially vehement in doughfaces were the triends and " allies of the their denunciation of me, and desire to make South." I hope the race of doughfaces is ex the impression that its loss, if it should be re tinet. They were a miserable set of beings, jected, is mainly to be attributed to my speech -mere puppers of Van Buren, -anti-clavery men at home, allies of the South here. Now and then, one is alive, mourning for the lost sports, and editing a paper that tries to slarm off is seen through by every body here, and it the South by the old song of 1831, "The is getting to be understood in the country." Whige are abolitionists." Once we were told, there are no Democratic Abultionists at the playing off now is understood, and I adopt the gitive slaves! North. Now how changed! Even in the language of my colleague in what follows: 1

Democrats! I would rather trust northern themselves airs and talking largely of south like repealed, and these petitions sarried. How stands the fact want of food. "Friend," he said, "I cannot

to a more combinate a piece than in a. I all the distributions of the control of involved, we ought to wait and hear what the The time has passed I hope, when I can be on- his speech, in which he says, that, " a certain people at home have to say of them. Now, just to a patriot, because he differs with me in promuen southern politician, weing that its I feel prepared not merely to express my opin- political opinions. My intercourse with mem- course bad rendered him unpopular generally, note, but those also of my honest constituents. Lets of the Domocratic party in my own seized upon the question to clear excitation. I hope to say nothing iffensive to any gen. State Legislature removed many populaces -- between the N r h and the South, and unite tienar. Certainly, I have no such desire .- my intererurse with gen lemen of that party the South thereby into a political party, of I shall most carefully avoid to strike the first here has proved that many of hem are true to which he expected to be the head. There are gress, blos. It I am assoulted, I must take care of the Union; and upon such questions as those also individuals at the North, who, though myself in the best way I may. And now to now under discussion here, I shall be proud to professing opportion to the role, are in my o I have heard a great deal said love, and fellowship, and to acknowledge them as wor means of producing agreation in that quarter. read much recently, of " encroachment on the thy laborers in a common cause. But I speak A portion of them attain a sufficient height to Suth-aggressions on the South;" and not here of the doughfaces-the men who, for enable them successfully to my de the matrix. though I know se have cause in some respects party purposes, agitate the country, that they mons of the South, but the large number are

Save, oh save me from a doughface friend !"

But, sir, to pursue my argument. In proof mission of California, are marked by unkind to produce agricultion for party purposes. I beg attention to a short extract from the " Union" perspaper (Democratic) of this city, I call the attention of my honest Democratic col leagues to this. In the " Union" of Febru-

" The southern Whigs have proved them to produce harmony of feeling, to speak calm- selves to be the worst enemies of the South ly's to brethren in the midet of a common and of southern institutions. But the present danger; that they would try and produce uni- is no time for crimination and recrimination.

ced. Far examples of these party speeches, as the northern Whige are ceaselessly de-I refer to that of the gentleman from Missix nounced as Abolitionists, and the southern have played the game too ar, of trying to get Committee on the Judiciary to report a bill suppl. (Mr. Brown.) and of the gratieman Whige "enemies of the South," who are the abolition votes. I cannot see how any man providing for the apprehension of fugitive from Maryland, (Mr. McLine.) who on this "all parties?" Those, I suppose, who wo's who has sworn to protect the Constitution can slaves? matter made a party speech, and tried, as he for the " regular nominees of the Democratic refuse to pass any law that may be deemed

his side to duty. There were other speeches justify such conduct. I will not descend to crim their own critzens to be without excuse. No of a like character. I want to show this ago instron; but what an argument! If the whole one condemns it more decidedly than I do, at this dreadful aggression, never moved a finger to procure any law relative to fugitive when it is gone, the fortress falls. That party purposes. I believe I can show it. the South and southern institutions," what are But still, the noise made about this is part In 1837, when Mr. Van Buren was Prest to become of those southern S.

Beades this extract just quot d, there are great tomult here. A southern meeting was others of like character-one of which was until C sa's defeat. held to a committee-room down states. Pat, read to us yesterday, by the gentleman from

In the Union of February 28, 1850, in the senting this petition was one of Mr. Cathoun's leading editorial article, we are told: "The member of this House, introduced a resolu-"engroschments." Mr. Van Buren's frier de alliance of northern Abolition Federalists, and tion I hold in my hand, which I will printfound it necessary to sustain him, as a "north. Southern slave holding Whigs, has attempted ern man with southern principles," and then to prostrate the Democratic party of the North he made this ab-litton excitement the plat who stood for half a century firmly by the form for his election to the P endency. In compromises of the Constitution which provain did the Whigs at that time warn the recied southern institutions, and it has suc southern country be would be a traitor; that ceeded in compelling the northern D mocia his past life had shown he was unsound upon cy to modify its position in relation to the in-

should be the consequence to the South, his No "time for crammation!" And the game was to be placed. In 1838, when Mr. northern Democracy has "med fied its post-Woodbury was in Van Buren's cabinet, and tion," How ? By affrance with the Aboli was engaged in that interesting correspon tionists? There are other charges of like dence to his sub-treasurers, Mr. Artherton, of character, in this and other papers, which I

dough aced, chiesley resolutions; a caucus for party effect? It proves that now, as in 1838, was held in which southern Van Buren De. it is, what my colleague from the Buncomb mocrate ant side by side with the worst unti- district called it, "a game." "In his speech, slavery men; from which erere caucus all the in 1844, inv colleague. (Mr. Chagman ) heresou hern Whigs were excluded; and these parted in the Appendix to the Congressional resolutions, then denounced as Janualise dan! Globe, 28 h. Congress, 1st session, referred doub's-meaning, were the hybrid offspring of to the "fact that all hough there were near that caucus. These resolutions were to quet eighty democratic members from the free agitation. I denounced them, and refused to States in the House of Representatives, only vote for them, and I was sustained at home. thirteen, "with all possible conxing," voted They were also denounced, if I mustake not, for the rule. How is it with the southern by other southern gen lemen, as betraying the wing of the party? Its members make most When General Harrison was nominated, he that the Union will be dissolved if it is abolagainst it-

"The game which they have been playing

tell me about northern Demicrats being the spect. Nothing could more fully show the question and delivered a speech upon that V. Brown, afterwards Governor of Tenness is no danger to this Union from any one. Mr. Cathrun too, thinks all the northern all principle, thin the course of its northern Mr. Stanly. My colleague may have raise

fords me pleasure to say, that when I hear commutations, even for doorlerger, or the bold and manly speeches, such as those made Grans'e doughtaces will let the Union be d . cover their slaves.

be allowed to tender them the right hand of pinton, really desirous of its continuance, as a to complain of the conduct of our nothern may win the spoils of office. I had rather simply seeking to produce a strong projucce people, I cannot include the whole North in meet Abolitioniats here than such men-if in the popular mind in the free States against southern institutions and men, on which to greeners. I have attentively watched the de- No; I would say, with a slight alteration base a political party strong enough to con-hate here and in the Senate. I have looked of one of Canning's verses:

> Now, sir, I think a certain prominent southern politician is playing the same game and he one-idea William proviso men are will trying to control the offices of the country .me want to get to congress, or to be placed of the charge I make, that there is a desire at the had of some important committee, by voting for the "favorite candidate," of the It was a "pame" when my colleague re-

ferred to it; it is a 'game now.' I fear my colleague does not remember this speech. Mr. Chingman said, ves.

Mr. Sanly. Well, ser, I will print the extract from the speech of 1844, and let it go to Burcombe with the late speech of my cal-

Yes, sir, the 'game' is still to be played, and now the 'refusal to surrender fugitive siates' is another northern aggression complained of. I admit the porthern States have necessary. The conduct of the northern cember, 1848, when the gentleman from My Democratic colleagues, I know, cannot States in this respect is admitted by some of

that no slaves had escaped from the South

But to the history of this. In 1838, shortly after the Atherton resolutions were passed, worthy gentleman from Kentucky, then a

rules in relation to the order of business be which was read at the clerk's table, and it is n il a words following viz:

" Resolved. That the Committee on the Judictary be instructed to report a bill making it only a ut for any person to aid tugitive claves n escaping from their owners, and providing or lowerhithe ox over his fodder." or the con sharent in the courts of the United such offence.

he court of the United States, of all persons who may be found guilty of such offence.

" A d on the question-shall the rules be repended for the purpose afore-aid?

Among the mays were Mr. Artherton and fifty four other northern " albest of the South." Now, sir, is it not singular, that from that knowledge extends, no effort has been made, to me, would be but a poor way of doing jus-

tional legislation upon this subject !

three years after that, and no bill passed for able us to recover fugitive slaves? ugitive slaves. In the twenty-fifth Congress, from 1837 to 1839 Mr. Polk was Speaker .- newborn zeal for legislation to enable us to From 1839 to 1841, twenty sixth Congress, recover fugitive slaves is all owing to the de Globe, 28th Congress, 1st Session.] Mr. Hunter, of Virginia, was Speaker- feat of General Cass. Just as the game which the Bobadile are Democratic mejurity here, and no bill for fu-

earlier, and have not to go so far to get in a sable to give them elves consequence at home. Mr. Vemble. Will my honorable colproper position. Look at the resolutions of But that day has passed. Its mock tragedy league allow me to remind him that before My colleague (Mr. Clingman) had the hold months, and not a single aboution perform ness to vote against the twenty-first rule. I has been prescoted? Hence the Union would Democratic legislatures and the messages of the adjusted by the bundinger in this the last Congress, on the abduction of a numcommend him for it. But he was denounced not be dissolved because of this aggression. depted by Democratic conventions, and then way. But the matter is impuritent in one re- ber of slaves from this District, I raised that by various southern gentlemen-by Mr. A. This aggression has ceased. No, str, then

Mr. Cultion toc, thinks all the northern all price ple, thin the course of its northern and southern wings on this question. They ed the question at thit time, but there was saunders, of North Carolina. Some extracts the first perfect that each of the North, as such, are hostile to the South of the North, as such, are hostile to the South of the Carolina of the Ca I such to say a few plant things in a plant of the North, as such, are nostile—are format and thereby get into power.

Way. I wish to say a little for Buncombe—

Some members of each are hostile—are format and thereby get into power.

Yes, sir, there's the true secret of this ag. and thereby get into power.

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Yes, sir, t

Mr. Stanly. If not out of my time.

Mr. Basty understood the gentleman to say that, from 1838, the time of Atherton's resolutions, to this time, nothing has been said by Virginia members on the surject of fugi

Mr. Stanly. Nothing for action of Con-

Mr. Bayly. Well, the subject was before the Legislature of Virginia to 1841 and 1842; ken frequents of the Union tisett "-[See republican government. it was nover brought before this House, because we came to the conclusion that the law of 1793 was as nearly perfect as it could be, and that it only required that it should be executed in good faith.

Mr. Stanty. Yes, sir, and you changed Taylor was elected President. And I would ask, why legislate further, if that law is sufficient? We cannot create "good faith" by set of Congress. I admit, Mr. Chairman, that Virginia is still a great and glorious Commonwealth. She has much to be proud of in ern friends is attributable to our own divisno sulogy from me; and, though I must cen. country, that the responsibility of this measand nearest relatives reside within her bor- tion. I trust, however, that no such division king care of the affairs of the General Govare not as important in the eyes of the coun- 28th Congress, 1st Session.] try as they are to the Chairman of Ways and I have an extract before me from the speech ginia thought the law of 1793 sufficient, did wildly. the gentleman from Virginia, (Mr. Meade,) acted had y in this instance. But parties Taylor's election, proposing to instruct the introduce his resolution soon after General

So I repeat, from 1836 to 1848, until Deall the southern Democracy, now crying out in his speech-

" The laurels were fairly portioned, The spells were tairly sold.

Mr. Venable. The "lands," I said. Mr. Stanly. I accept the correction: it was printed "laurels," but my colleague is Mr. Calhoun, of Kentucky, moved that the right; the southern Democracy, whatever of rendered the Constitution of his country." spuls" they got, won no "laurels" during suspended, to enable him to move a resolution, the last ten years with their northern allies. No. sir, the truth is, Cass was a "used up ted : man." Taylor was elected; the "spoils"

were gone; the cohesive power was lost. Tm v, as we are told in the book of Job,

I have watched the progress of the debate as in the newspapers. I see a respectable Sen-" And that they be further instructed to re. after from Virginia (Mr. Mason) said he nort a bill making it unlawful for any person, wanted the bill acted on "as soon as practithe non-slaveholding States of this Union cable," but had "little hope it would afford use any means to induce slaves from their the semedy it is intended to efford;" " it de Session-January, 1844, page 85.] owners, and providing for the purishment, in pends upon the loyalty of the people to whom it is directed."

Another Senater (from South Carolina-Mr. Butter,) said " he had no very great confidence that this bill will subserve the ends cerely distressed. He appealed to the dough "It passed in the negative-year 90, mays which seem to be contemplated by it."-Why then, I ask, so zealously urge the passage of it ! One of these Senators (Mr. Mason) also intimated that it might become necessity, for the States whose citizens lost until Gen. Taylor's election, to demand additice to our citizens. If one rogue in Ohio or Pennsylvania steals a negro, we are to take If any such effort has been made, I do not the wagon-horse of some honest old farmer, know it. Were there no fugitive staves in who lived hundreds of miles from that third!

see; Mr. Cobb. of Georgia, our Speaker; cause. In this happy land, our purple w. Mr. Stiles, of Georgia, and by Mr. R. M. occasionally be guilty of some extracting I know of. And my colleague raised the were. Mr. Brown, of Tennessee, was argu- poets of her people, can with truly be suched Congress to enable the southern people to re- on it." He begged the real "friends" of the

> who shall go one inch beyond the right of parther to stay to stay to stay to stay to the fitter. He must be week for every fee that toud not rightly though for what they may be kindled, and for every drop of blood " the rig is of women." I no not know what that may be shed. Yes, ser, I will say to the are the rights they charm published they think gentlemen from New York and from North women should vote, should come to Congress, Carolina, (Mr. Cingman,) if this House shall &c.; but if they give to the New England go one inch beyond that, they may have to women more rights than those our North tand answerable for the shattered and bro. Carolina women have, they will not have a Append. Cong. Globe, 28th Congress, 1st Some of these agreeters do not believe any

&c. And be added :

Mr. Cobb, of Georgia, after complementing he northern Democracy for their devotion to the interests of the South, for their "sinrour opinion of that law as soon as General cere friendlip," referred to the fact that some of the Northern D mocracy were abandon ing the rule, on account of the opposition of some few southern members to it; and he

"Thus it is that the defection of our norththe past history of this country. She needs ions. Let the fact then be published to the sure, and shall ridicule the conduct of some are may rest upon those who justly deserve of her public men, I shall speak respectfully it, upon whom an indignant and outraged of the State. Many of my dearest friends people may place the seal of their condemnaders, and they have, I believe, done no discred- will be found to exist; no Southern Demoit to her, in peace or in war. But, sir the crat, I am sure, will abadon his post; and but Old Dominion is too much in the habit of ta- few, if any, of the southern Whigs will be found following in the wake of the gen leman ernment, and the debates in her Legislatures from North Carolina."-[Appen. Con. Globe,

Means, (Mr. Bayly.) And I should be glad of Mr. Saites, of Georgia, which I will print to know why, if the representatives from Vir- Mr. Stiles sp ke under excitement, and very

Extract form the speech of Mr. Stiles, of aggitation ceases. Georgia, House of Representatives, January 28 and 30, 1844, on the twenty fifth rule relating to abolition petitions. In replying to the remarks of Mr. Chagman - Appendix to Congressional Globe, 28th Congress, 1st Session, page 262-he spoke of the Consti-Virginia (Mr. Meade) offered his resolution, was "a barrier," and he said:

ed the interests of the South, in having sur-

Mr. Saunders, of North Carolina, thought with others whose remarks I have just quo-

Mr. R. M. Saunders, arguing against the argument that to receive petitions would si lence the "clamor about the right of perition," .. Doch the wild ass bray when he hath grass; said: "They might as soon expect to extinguish the confligration by adding fuel to the flames. I repent, then, there is but one States of all persons who may be guilty of in the Senate, and from the published speech alternative-rejection without action, or reception and action. There is no middle ground can satisfy those who are resolved to press this matter, whatever its consequences." -[Appendix to Cong. Globe, 28th Cong., 1st

How much mistaken! Since the repeal of the rule, how seldom we see an abolition

Mr. Saunders appeared to have been sinfaces in an extract before me :

Mr. Saunders said: I ask the gentleman hitherto stood by us, why they should now the declaration of American Independencenegroes, "to make reprisals on the citizens give way ! I turn to our friends from Con- with that self-evident truth, that all men are period down to the present, as far as my of the State offending!" Now this, it seems necticut, and ask them why they should created equal, and endowed by their Creator yield? If I appeal in vain I turn to those with certain inalienable rights; that among by whom I know the appeal will be answer- these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of haped-to patriotic New Hampshire, whose sons, piness. like her granite basis, have hitherto breast ed the storm; they I know, will not give the propriety of our government acknowledg-1538? Well, Mr. Van Buren was President Will not this produce civil war? Will it en. way. So I call upon our friends from the ing the independence and nationality of the Keystone State not to surrender, because a Republic of Liberia, and extending to her Now, sir, I think I have proved that this single soldier in the South has deserted us on the same county as other nations. this trying occasion."-[See Appendix Cong

How much mistaken, I say again, these Tyler was President from April, 1841, to that the southern States are annoyed by the clamor will cease. The result shows he was Now these men are among our best citi-

When they cannot war against the wears. South, if they could not altogether exclude first rule, they will form price someton. Mr. Bayly. Will the gentlemen allow me those petitions, not to refer them for debate. Noble motives prompt them as this. The set agitators, comprising a small portion of our "The South will hold no man guiltless numbers people, not only such distinction to

> udge has a right to administer an eath .-They do not acknowledge the authority of any magistrate. Such people deserve our pity or contempt. They ought not to be reasoned with. Denunciation, like the storm upon the traveller, but makes them fold the close of prejudice closely around them, and go on with more energy. Forbearance towards their follies-as it did with their right of petition-like the influence of the sun, will drive them to the shades of retirement.

> But complaint is made against the North because they will not stop the agitation and aggression of these fanatics. How can they stop them? New York last year, because of some misunderstanding between two actors. nearly destroyed a valuable building, and caused the death of several persons. Mussa chusetts, some years ago, could not in her peaceful border, prevent the destruction of a convent. Dorrism nearly produced civil war in Rhode Island. Philadelphia has had a church destroyed, and an abolition half burnt down by her staid population.

If these terrible outbreaks cannot be prevented, how can the northern people suppress fanaticism? And yet we are told by gentle-men, the Union will be dissole I unless this

Who can reason with fanaticism?

"You may as well go stand upon the beach, You may as well use question with the wolf, You may as well forbul the mountain pines To wag their high tops and to make no noise,

When they are fretted with the gusts of Heaven" -

ily of Virginia mouse in an English cheese, del lost, only by treachery in the camp. I interfere with slavery in the States. It is a One would suppose from speeches made here, The reason was, as my colleague (Mr. Ven. will pursue the simile no farther. But let great mistake. Our Quakers in North Carable) said in some poor verses quoted by him me tell the member from N. Carolina, that olina and elsewhere, are all opposed to slaveif this rule is lost from the relation in which ry. In 1824, I think, Mr. R. M. Saunders he stands to, and the part which he has borne presented one of their netitions here. The in this transaction, he may go home to his Quakers in all countries, are among our hast constituents and to his grave covered with population. They are industrious, sober, are the unenviable immortality of having betray. derly. They try to do unto others as they wish others to do unto them. But they are no agitators. It is a part of their religion to oppose slavery. Every year they express, in mild terms, their opposition to it. I received from my district, a few day's since, a paper before me, from one of the best men I ever knew - a Quaker. It is entitled " Minutes of the North Carolina yearly meeting, held at New Garden, Guilford county, 11th month, 1849." They send a memorial to the Senate and House of Representatives, in

which they say-"Your memorialists further show that they believe themselves conscientiously constrained to bear their testimony against the unrightcous system of slavery. Many of them have made pecuniary sacrifices to obtain a quiet conscience; and they respectfully ask Congress to take the subject under deliberation, and legislate for its amelioration or extinction an far as they constitutionally can. For we believe it to be anti-christian in practice masmuch as it is at variance with the divine precept of doing to others as we would they should do unto us. We believe it to be anfrom Maine if there be any here, who have ti-republican, because it does not accord with

" And we suggest for your consideration,

"Your memorialists and petitioners desire that you may be guided and influenced in your legislation by that wisdom which is pro-Well, sir, among other reasons given why gentlemen were! Mr. Clay always argued firable to direct-which is first pure, then we should think of dissolution, is the fact -receive these petitions, and much of this peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entrented."

Senate, a member of that body (Mr. Clemens, think it was true of the party to whom it was March, 1845 During the first year of Ty. "agitation of Abolitionists." The southern right. When I had the honor of being in zens; some of them were slaveholders. of Alabama, on the 17th January, 1850,) applied then, in 1844 and especially true now, let's term, Mr. White, of Kentucky, was address says, I think it commenced about the Congress in 1839, while the twenty-first rule know one who emancipated fifty slaves. It ni these of the South who wish disorder should Speaker, and a Democratic majority here, year 1835. It commenced, sir, before the was in force, I do not think I exaggerate would be a moderate estimate to say he soc-"I said the people of the South had been reign, and of the one idea fanctical Wilmot with a Virginia President, and no bit for re- year 1787. The Quakers have more than when I say, that during the period of three rificed to his conscience twenty-five thousand heretofore laboring under the decision that the proviso men of the North. Hear these words: claiming fugitive slaves!! Then from March, a hundred years been opposed to slavery. or four months, we had what were called ab dollars. Yet these people would be the last northern Damocrats were their friends. I "The game which they have been playing off 1845, to March, 1849, Mr. Polk, a southern In 1871, George Fox advocated emancipal olition petitions presented here, signed by to encourage violence. These men would said it was a delusion, and I was glad to have is seen through by every body here, and it is President, and during two years Mr. Davis, of tion. But the aggressive agitation consisted more than one hundred thousand men and not fight; but in the hour of trial I believe an opportunity of explaining it to them. God getting to be understood in the country. - Indiana, Democratic Speaker, and still no bill in sending abolition petitions. And I remem women. Like the camomile flower "the many of them would do as one did in Rhode deliver me from such friends as the northern There was a time when gentlemen, by giving for the reclamation of fugitive slaves! - ber well, before the repeal of the "twen'y- more it is tradden upon, the faster it grows," Island in the Dorr rebellion. He found a